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AUTHOR St-Germain, Claude; Hahne, Robert
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ABSTRACT

The decade of the 1970s saw a relative decline in the enrollment in Quebec Province of students in English schools, and a relative increase in enrollment in French schools. This shift was especially reflected in a decreasing proportion of Francophone and Allophone (having neither French nor English as a native language) students attending school in English. The trend is with the adoption in Quebec of the French Language Charter. An attempt is made to gauge approximately the role of factors likely to explain the reduction in the number of students attending school in English, for both the public and private systems, within the Province. In order of importance, the factors to which the decline in enrollment can be ascribed are: (1) declining birth rate, (2) the criteria governing admissibility to English schools as defined by the French Language Charter, (3) net negative displacements, and (4) the voluntary choice of French by students otherwise eligible to attend English schools. (Author/JB)

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MOTHER TONGUE AND LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION IN QUEBEC'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS: RECENT EVOLUTION

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Direction des études économiques
et démographiques

Claude St-Germain
Robert Maheu
Service de la démographie
scolaire

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SUMMARY

Between 1971-1972 and 1979-1980, school boards in Québec lost one quarter of their student population. This decrease in numbers is the result of a lowered birth-rate which affected both Francophones and English-speaking residents alike. However, prior to the French Language Charter becoming law, the student population attending class in the English language had dropped less rapidly than the population studying in French (5.8% as against 10.5%, between 1973-1974 and 1976-1977). Once the Charter had been adopted, the situation was reversed and between 1976-1977 and 1979-1980, there was a reduction of 21.6% in the numbers receiving their schooling in English, as opposed to a 9.2% drop on the French side. In English kindergartens, the reduction reached 28.3%.

In 1976-1977, 2.2% of Francophones and 81.7% of Allophones were attending school in English. While English speakers accounted for 12% of the school population, English classes took in 16.7% of those attending school. In 1979-1980, 1.7% of Francophones and 67.3% of Allophones were attending classes in English. The relative number of students receiving their schooling in English now stood at 14.8%, while the proportion of young foreign language speakers enrolling in French kindergartens went from 23.3 in 1973-1974 to 67.0 in 1979-1980. For young English speakers, the figure has changed from 16.5% to 39.6%, a trend largely attributable to the implementation of the welcoming class sector and to parents opting for a French language education for their children, even though these might be eligible to attend class in English.

Between 1976-1977 and 1979-1980 the drop in percentage of the population in "English Protestant" classes is identical to that affecting "English Catholic" ones and stands at 22% to 23%. As far as Protestant school boards are concerned, the welcoming class sector has experienced a rapid growth. This is shown by the increase in student population; from 30 enrolments in 1976-1977, to 1 758 in 1979-1980. The linguistic make-up of the student population attending school in English varies widely according to the religious affiliation of the organization: in Catholic school boards, 50% of students attending class in English cannot claim English as their mother tongue; for school boards catering to Protestants, the percentage lies somewhere between 20% and 25%.

The most rapid decline in the student population has occurred on the Island of Montreal, where the sharpest decline is taking place within the ranks of those attending school in English at either the CECM or the PSBGM. Among the factors which explain this decrease, the population exodus towards the suburbs as well as an increase in the number of students receiving their schooling in English in the private school system must be stressed.

- 1- Francophone: a person whose mother tongue is French
- 2- Allophone : one who has neither English nor French as a mother tongue

An attempt has been made to gauge, at least approximately, the role of each factor likely to explain the reduction in the number of students attending school in English, for both the public and private system, within the whole Province of Québec. In order of importance, the factors to which the decline in enrolment can be ascribed are as follows:

1-	the declining birth-rate	7.8%
2-	the criteria governing admissibility to English schools as defined by the French Language Charter	5.6%
3-	net negative displacements	5.3%
4-	the voluntary choice of French by students otherwise eligible to attend English schools	3.2%
		21.9%

As far as population shifts are concerned, figures showing departures for locations outside Québec during the years 1977-1978 indicate that there seems to have been more of these than usual among the English population. By 1979, however, the reaction seems to have come to an end.

INTRODUCTION

The French Language Charter came into effect on August 26th, 1977. In the area of education, French became the language of instruction at the elementary and high school levels for school boards (public system) as well as in private institutions subsidized by the Québec Government (Section 72). Access to an English education was restricted to children already attending English schools prior to the bill becoming law, to their younger brothers and sisters, and to children whose father or mother had received his or her elementary schooling in English in Québec, and to children whose father or mother were, at the time the bill came into effect, Québec residents and whose elementary schooling had been received in English but outside Québec (Section 73). Thus, most Francophones as well as immigrants coming either from foreign countries or other Canadian provinces must receive elementary and high school education in the French language.

Three school years have gone by since the Charter came into effect. This study traces the evolution of the linguistic distribution of students in school boards between the years 1977-1980. This evolution is then compared to the linguistic situation which prevailed between the years 1973-1974 and 1976-1977. Student distribution is analysed according to the language of instruction (French or English) and to mother tongue (French, English or other). The situation is first described for the total number of Québec school boards (Chapter I). A differentiation is then made between school boards catering to Catholics and those catering to Protestants (Chapter II).

The current situation in the Montreal area is examined, as this is where the majority of students attending English schools is to be found. The evolution of the linguistic situation of the two school boards with the greatest number of students for whom English is the language of instruction is traced: the Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal and the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal (Chapter III). The last two chapters are devoted to a study of the various factors to which the decline in English enrolment can be ascribed. Chapter IV deals with those students who attend class in French but are eligible to attend English schools, and Chapter V attempts to measure the impact of the various factors contributing to the decline in enrolment in English classes: birth-rate, migration, voluntary choice of French schools and eligibility criteria as defined by Bill 101.

Except where otherwise indicated, the data was taken from the files of the ministère de l'Éducation. Sources are as follows:

- a) Distribution according to the language of instruction
- 1- 1973-1974: Fichier écoles standard (schools' enrolment reports) Direction des études économiques et démographiques. This is a version of the schools' enrolment reports, where certain corrections were made to the distribution of students according to their language of instruction. A check carried out with school boards made it possible to amend the teaching language for a few of the schools.
 - 2- 1976-1977 and 1979-1980: Fichier des écoles (schools' enrolment reports).
 - 3- Welcoming Classes 1973-1974: Bureau de coordination des classes d'accueil.

b) Distribution according to mother tongue

Fichier élèves standard (schools' enrolment reports).

Direction des études économiques et démographiques. This is a version of the enrolment reports, where a number of variables have been corrected (mother tongue and language of instruction among others). When the mother tongue of a student was left undeclared for a specific year, he was given the one declared during a previous or subsequent school year. Corrections dealing with the language of instruction were made in order that the language of instruction for the student correspond with the teaching language of the school attended.

The figures for the student population attending French schools include pupils in welcoming classes. Data on kindergartens include data on both the 4 and 5 year-old kindergarten levels.

CHAPTER I

The Distribution of School Boards' Student Population by Language in the Seventies

1- Distribution of students according to language of instruction

The decade of the seventies witnessed a sharp decline in the number of elementary and secondary school students. Between 1971-1972 and 1979-1980, Québec school boards ⁽¹⁾ lost one quarter of their population. From 1 556 802 enrolments in 1971-1972, the number of students dropped to 1 172 754 in 1979-1980, a loss of 384 048 students (-24.6%). The decline in the birth-rate is largely responsible for the plummeting figures.

This decline in the birth-rate has affected French and English speakers alike ⁽²⁾. In the first part of the decade, however, the number of students attending school in English declined less rapidly than its French counterpart. Between 1971-1972 and 1974-1975, that is before Bill 22 ⁽³⁾ had come into force, the number of students attending class in English had gone from 241 194 to 234 898, a drop of 2.6%.

- (1) School boards encompass approximately 95% of the student population at the elementary and high school levels.
- (2) See Chapter V.
- (3) The Official Language Act, passed on July 31st, 1974. In the area of education, the Act took effect on September 30th, 1975.

During the same period, the French-speaking school population had dropped 9.7%, with numbers being reduced from 1 315 608 to 1 187 447.

It is only from 1976-1977 onwards, when Bill 22 was entering its second year of application, that the rate of decrease within the school population attending classes in English (- 4.2% between 1975-1976 and 1976-1977) came to match that of the French-speaking schools (- 4.1%). (1)

Table 1.1 shows the evolution of the school boards' student population between the years 1973-1974 and 1979-1980. There is a noticeable reversal of the situation after Bill 101 came into effect in 1977. While the rate of decline affecting the school population studying in French was nearly double that of the population being instructed in English between 1973-1974 and 1976-1977, the rate of decline in the number of students attending school in English is more than twice as great as that affecting students attending school in French between 1976-1977 and 1979-1980. Thus, the relative weight of the former which had grown by 16.0% to 16.7% between 1973-1974 and 1976-1977 dropped to 14.8% in 1979-1980 (Table 1.2).

(1) Claude St-Germain, La situation linguistique dans les écoles primaires et secondaires, 1971-1972 à 1978-1979, Conseil de la langue française, éditeur officiel du Québec, 1980.

Table 1.1: Evolution in Québec school boards' student population according to language of instruction, from 1973-1974 to 1979-1980 (population and percentage changes).

Years	Language of instruction		
	French	English	Total
1973-74	1 230 254	234 737	1 464 992
1976-77	1 100 620	221 237	1 321 857
1979-80	999 205	173 549	1 172 754
Periods			
1973-74 to 1976-77	- 10.5	- 5.8	- 9.8
1976-77 to 1979-80	- 9.2	- 21.6	- 11.3
1973-74 to 1979-80	- 18.8	- 26.1	- 19.9

Table 1.2: Distribution of the Québec school boards' student population according to language of instruction, from 1973-1974 to 1979-1980.

Years	Language of instruction		
	French	English	Total
1973-74	84.0	16.0	100.0
1976-77	83.3	16.7	100.0
1979-80	85.2	14.8	100.0

The criteria governing eligibility for schooling in the English language mostly affect children enrolling for the first time. Table 1.3 shows the distribution of the student body attending class in English, according to school levels. One notices that the drop recorded over the years 1976-1977 to 1979-1980 was felt most sharply at the kindergarten level (-27.8%). Such a reduction has repercussions at the elementary level (-26.4%), while its effect is far less obvious at the secondary level (-15.9%). The drop in percentages however, is more important during this period than those incurred at all levels between 1973-1974 and 1976-1977.

2- Distribution of students according to language of instruction and mother tongue

From 1973-1974 to 1976-1977, there was, as has been noted, an increase in the number of students attending school in English. Indeed, the increase had proven a constant one between 1971 and 1975. In 1971-1972, 15.5% of the student body attended class in English; in 1975-1976, the proportion had risen to 16.8%, well above the proportion of children whose mother tongue was English (approximately 12%). This discrepancy is due to the fact that 80% of Allophones and 2.4% of Francophones had enrolled in English classes.

Table 1.4 gives the distribution of each of the linguistic groups in relation to the language of instruction for the three years selected.

Table 1.3: Evolution of the student population attending English schools within Québec school boards, according to academic level, from 1973-1974 to 1979-1980 (population figures and percentage changes).

Years	Academic Level			
	Kindergarten	Elementary	High School	Total
1973-74	13 784	115 552	105 401	234 737
1976-77	11 623	105 781	103 833	221 237
1979-80	8 386	77 885	87 278	173 549
Periods				
1973-74 to 1976-77	- 15.7	- 8.5	- 1.5	- 5.8
1976-77 to 1979-80	- 27.8	- 26.4	- 15.9	- 21.6
1973-74 to 1979-80	- 39.2	- 32.6	- 17.2	- 26.1

Table 1.4: Distribution of the student population of public school boards by language of instruction according to level and to mother tongue. Years 1973-1974, 1976-1977 and 1979-1980.

Year	Mother tongue	Academic level / Language of instruction											
		Kindergarten			Elementary			High School			Total		
		French	English	Total	French	English	Total	French	English	Total	French	English	Total
1973-74	French	97.6	2.4	100.0	97.8	2.2	100.0	97.5	2.5	100.0	97.7	2.3	100.0
	English	16.5	83.5	100.0	8.3	91.7	100.0	3.8	96.2	100.0	6.8	93.2	100.0
	Other	23.3	76.7	100.0	18.8	81.2	100.0	9.7	90.3	100.0	15.9	84.1	100.0
	Total	85.2	14.8	100.0	84.0	16.0	100.0	83.8	16.2	100.0	84.0	16.0	100.0
1976-77	French	99.5	0.5	100.0	97.9	2.1	100.0	97.5	2.5	100.0	97.8	2.2	100.0
	English	18.2	81.8	100.0	9.5	90.5	100.0	3.8	96.2	100.0	7.5	92.5	100.0
	Other	40.5	59.5	100.0	19.9	80.1	100.0	13.4	86.6	100.0	18.3	81.7	100.0
	Total	87.4	12.6	100.0	83.3	16.7	100.0	82.6	17.4	100.0	83.3	16.7	100.0
1979-80	French	99.4	0.6	100.0	98.7	1.3	100.0	97.7	2.3	100.0	98.3	1.7	100.0
	English	39.6	60.4	100.0	14.5	85.5	100.0	5.0	95.0	100.0	12.2	87.8	100.0
	Other	67.0	33.0	100.0	34.8	65.2	100.0	22.4	77.6	100.0	32.7	67.3	100.0
	Total	90.8	9.2	100.0	86.0	14.0	100.0	83.4	16.6	100.0	85.2	14.8	100.0

Note: The kindergarten level includes kindergartens for both 4 and 5 year-old children.

In 1973-1974, 16.0% of students were receiving schooling in the English language. The proportion of Francophones attending English schools stood at 2.3%, while that of Allophones in the same situation reached 84.1%. This indicates that more than one third of the student population attending class in English (34.9%) could not claim English as a mother tongue (29 000 Francophones plus 53 000 Allophones from a total of 235 000 students). Between the years 1973-1974 and 1976-1977, there was scarcely any change in the figures for Francophones or Allophones with percentages going from 2.3% to 2.2% and from 84.1% to 81.7% respectively. It must be noted, however, that at the kindergarten level, the same proportions were considerably reduced as a result of Bill 22: from 2.4% to 0.5% for Francophones and from 76.7% to 59.5% for Allophones.

It is with Bill 101 however, that the most important changes emerge. In 1979-1980, three years after the French Language Charter came into force, the proportion of Francophones enrolled in English schools has been reduced to 1.7%, while the proportion of Allophones has fallen to 67.3%. At the kindergarten level, the majority of Allophones (67.0%) are enrolled in French classes. Another striking feature is the fact that the proportion of students claiming English as a mother tongue and now attending school in French has virtually doubled between 1973-1974 and 1979-1980, given that percentages went from 6.8% to 12.2%. In kindergartens, 39.6% of young English pupils are enrolled in French classes in 1979-1980 while, in 1973-1974, this proportion stood at only 16.5%.

A large part of this growth can be traced back to the opening of welcoming kindergartens for four year old Allophone children, particularly after 1978 ⁽¹⁾. Even at the five year old kindergarten level alone, the shift remains most significant, given that the proportion of English pupils transferred to French classes has risen from 15.8 in 1973-1974 to 26.7% in 1979-1980.

Doubtless many of these changes can be attributed to the application of the French Language Charter and, for English speakers in particular, to the application of the "Québec clause" of the Charter. According to this "clause", children moving to Québec (whether it be from other provinces or other countries), whose mother tongue is English but whose parents did not receive their elementary schooling in Québec in the English language, must attend French classes. Most of the increase, however, can be attributed to a voluntary choice by the parents. Indeed, the number of students eligible to attend an English school but have opted for a French one instead, has increased significantly since 1977-1978, at the kindergarten and elementary levels especially ⁽²⁾.

This explains the growth of the welcoming class sector, where the number of students rose from 3 229 in 1976-1977 to 7 691 in 1979-1980.

(1) It should be remembered that in welcoming classes, non French-speaking students are exposed to an intensive use of the French language over a maximum of ten months; this enables them to join regular classes of French-speaking pupils.

(2) See Chapter IV.

CHAPTER II

Distribution of School Boards' Student Population according to Each Board's Religious Affiliation

In Québec, the public school system at the elementary and high school levels is devised along confessional rather than linguistic lines. There are no more "French" school boards than there are "English" ones. There are school boards catering to Catholics and school boards catering to Protestants, as well as multi-confessional school boards. Nevertheless, more than 90% of the student body enrolled in Catholic schools study in French, while more than 95% enrolled in Protestant school boards study in English (at least until 1978-1979).

In 1979-1980, Catholic school boards accounted for 90.7% of the student population within the public network; Protestant school boards could claim 8.9% of the same group, with a poor 0.4% going to multi-confessional ones. This analysis concerns the Catholic and Protestant boards only.

Table 2.1: Evolution of the student population of Québec school boards catering to Catholics, according to language of instruction. Years 1973-1974 to 1979-1980 (population and percentage changes).

Years	Language of instruction		
	French	English	Total
1973-1974	1 225 849	107 919	1 333 768
1976-1977	1 096 539	96 328	1 192 867
1979-1980	990 128	74 818	1 064 946
Periods			
1973-74 to 1976-77	- 10.5	- 10.7	- 10.6
1976-77 to 1979-80	- 9.7	- 22.3	- 10.7
1973-74 to 1979-80	- 19.2	- 30.7	- 20.2

Table 2.2: Evolution of the student population of Québec boards catering to Protestants, according to language of instruction. Years 1973-1974 and 1979-1980 (population and percentage changes).

Years	Language of instruction		
	French	English	Total
1973-1974	3 434	125 570	129 004
1976-1977	2 216	123 482	125 698
1979-1980	6 418	95 167	101 585
Periods			
1973-74 to 1976-77	- 35.5	- 1.7	- 2.6
1976-77 to 1979-80	+189.6	- 22.9	- 19.2
1973-74 to 1979-80	+ 86.9	- 24.2	- 21.3

1- Distribution of students according to language of instruction

Tables 2.1 and 2.2 show the evolution of student populations according to language of instruction. School boards catering to Catholics account for 44% of the students attending class in English. From 1973-1974 to 1976-1977, the student population in both languages of instruction dropped by approximately 11%. Following the adoption of Bill 101, the population attending English classes fell twice as rapidly as it had over the previous period. The percentage of decrease in the student population attending French classes diminished somewhat.

On the Protestant side, virtually no loss in numbers was recorded between the years 1973-1974 and 1976-1977 among the student population attending class in English. On the other hand the rate of decrease experienced by the English Protestant student population between 1976-1977 and 1979-1980 has matched the rate recorded within the English Catholic student population (from 22% to 23%). While the number of students receiving their schooling in French remains small, it has nevertheless significantly risen during the second period. Moreover, the welcoming class sector has made rapid progress. In 1976-1977, only 30 students attended the welcoming class sector but in 1979-1980, Protestant school boards boasted 1 758 students in their welcoming classes.

Tables 2.3 and 2.4 reflect the evolution of the school population studying in English, according to academic level. As far as Catholic school boards are concerned, the reduction in population has been far more important during the period preceding Bill 101.

Table 2.3: Evolution of the student population attending class in English within school boards catering to Catholics according to academic level. Years 1973-1974 to 1979-1980 (population and percentage changes).

Years	Academic level			
	Kindergarten	Elementary	High School	Total
1973-1974	6 533	54 677	46 709	107 919
1976-1977	3 843	47 774	44 711	96 328
1979-1980	3 445	34 120	37 253	75 818
Periods				
1973-74 to 1976-77	- 41.2	- 12.6	- 4.3	- 10.7
1976-77 to 1979-80	- 10.4	- 28.6	- 16.7	- 22.3
1973-74 to 1979-80	- 47.3	- 37.6	- 20.2	- 30.7

Table 2.4: Evolution of the student population attending class in English within school boards catering to Protestants, according to academic level. Years 1973-1974 to 1979-1980 (population and percentage changes).

Years	Academic level			
	Kindergarten	Elementary	High School	Total
1973-1974	7 110	59 904	58 556	125 570
1976-1977	7 622	57 003	58 857	123 482
1979-1980	4 560	41 560	49 407	95 167
Periods				
1973-74 to 1976-77	- 7.2	- 4.8	- 0.5	- 1.7
1976-77 to 1979-80	- 40.2	- 27.1	- 16.7	- 22.9
1973-74 to 1979-80	- 35.9	- 30.6	- 16.2	- 24.2

For Protestants, the situation is reversed: between 1973-1974 and 1976-1977, student enrolments grew; after Bill 101, they fell very quickly. If the difference between the two groups of school boards is to be understood, the distribution of the student population according to the mother tongue must be analysed.

2- Distribution of students according to language of instruction and mother tongue

We have seen that in 1976-1977, more than one third of the school boards' students attending class in English could not claim this language as their mother tongue. This proportion, however, varies widely between school boards for Catholics and school boards for Protestants. In the first instance, English is not the mother tongue of 50% of the children receiving their schooling in that language. In the second instance, the same percentage lies between 20% and 25%. Relevant data will be found in Table 2.5.

In 1973-1974, Francophones and Allophones represented 60% of the English kindergarten population within Catholic school boards. Bill 22, which required a child to have sufficient knowledge of English before he could be enrolled in English classes, helped lower this proportion to 27% in 1976-1977. As far as Protestant school boards were concerned, however, English speakers represented a solid majority of the student population (73.8%) in 1973-1974, so that Bill 22 had very little effect.

Table 2.5: Distribution of Catholic and Protestant School boards' student population attending class in English, according to mother tongue. Years 1973-1974 to 1979-1980.

Year	Academic level	Mother tongue			
		French	English	Other	Total
<u>Cath. S.B.</u>					
1973-74	kindergarten	22.7	40.5	36.9	100.0
	total	18.4	47.7	33.8	100.0
1976-77	kindergarten	6.0	73.3	20.6	100.0
	total	16.5	50.7	32.8	100.0
1979-80	kindergarten	8.3	57.6	34.1	100.0
	total	14.2	49.4	36.5	100.0
<u>Prot. S.B.</u>					
1973-74	kindergarten	6.0	73.8	20.1	100.0
	total	7.5	79.1	13.4	100.0
1976-77	kindergarten	1.7	79.2	19.1	100.0
	total	6.9	78.2	14.9	100.0
1979-80	kindergarten	4.1	79.4	16.5	100.0
	total	6.4	77.5	16.1	100.0

The criteria governing eligibility to instruction in the English language which are part of Bill 22 and 101 affect largely the same population among both Francophones and English speakers. Given that Bill 22 had already touched the "English Catholics", Bill 101 did not create any marked reduction at the kindergarten level. The distribution of students from the various linguistic groups according to their language of instruction (table 2.6) indicates that as early as 1976, 63.0% of Allophones were already attending French classes. By 1979-1980 this proportion had increased to 75.0%. It stands at 41.2% for all academic levels. Moreover, a majority of English speakers attend French kindergartens (56.6%). It should be borne in mind, however, that this proportion had already reached 40.1% in 1976-1977.

As far as the student population of Protestant school boards is concerned, the proportion of English-speaking children attending French kindergartens has risen considerably, going from 1.4% in 1976-1977 to 25.4% in 1979-1980 (table 2.7). This drift towards French schooling explains largely the 40% drop in the population studying in English within the kindergartens of school boards catering to Protestants.

Table 2.6: Distribution of the population of school boards for Catholics, by language of instruction and according to mother tongue. Years 1973-1974, 1976-1977 and 1979-1980.

Years	Mother tongue	Language of instruction					
		Kindergarten level			All levels		
		French	English	Total	French	English	Total
1973-74	French	98.1	1.9	100.0	98.4	1.6	100.0
	English	32.5	67.5	100.0	15.8	84.2	100.0
	Other	31.1	68.9	100.0	20.6	79.4	100.0
	Total	92.3	7.7	100.0	91.9	8.1	100.0
1976-77	French	99.7	0.3	100.0	98.5	1.5	100.0
	English	40.1	59.9	100.0	19.0	81.0	100.0
	Other	63.0	37.0	100.0	24.1	75.9	100.0
	Total	95.4	4.6	100.0	91.9	8.1	100.0
1979-80	French	99.6	0.4	100.0	98.9	1.1	100.0
	English	56.6	43.4	100.0	25.0	75.0	100.0
	Other	75.0	25.0	100.0	41.2	58.8	100.0
	Total	95.9	4.1	100.0	93.0	7.0	100.0

Note: The kindergarten level includes kindergartens for both 4 and 5 year-old children.

Table 2.7: Distribution of the population of school boards for Protestants, by language of instruction and according to mother tongue - Years 1973-1974, 1976-1977 and 1979-1980.

Years	Mother tongue	Language of instruction					
		Kindergarten level			All levels		
		French	English	Total	French	English	Total
1973-74	French	16.9	83.1	100.0	14.4	85.6	100.0
	English	7.6	92.4	100.0	1.7	98.3	100.0
	Other	2.3	97.7	100.0	0.9	99.1	100.0
	Total	7.2	92.8	100.0	2.7	97.3	100.0
1976-77	French	56.9	43.1	100.0	16.3	83.7	100.0
	English	1.4	98.6	100.0	0.4	99.6	100.0
	Other	2.1	97.9	100.0	1.1	98.9	100.0
	Total	3.6	96.4	100.0	1.8	98.2	100.0
1979-80	French	56.1	43.9	100.0	23.5	76.5	100.0
	English	25.4	74.6	100.0	3.9	96.1	100.0
	Other	40.8	59.2	100.0	9.3	90.7	100.0
	Total	30.4	69.6	100.0	6.3	93.7	100.0

CHAPTER III

Distribution according to Language of School Students within the Montreal Area

1- Overview

More than 80% of students attending class in English are to be found within school boards in and around Montreal. The Montreal Island sub-region alone accounts for close to 60%. Table 3.1 depicts the changes in school population for three Montreal sub-regions, according to the language of instruction. Between 1973-1974 and 1979-1980, the student population in both the northern and southern sub-regions registered a decline of 12.4% and 10.3% respectively while the Island of Montreal itself experienced a decline nearly three times as much (-29.2%). This latter figure reflects the ageing of the general population in the center of Montreal, as well as the pattern of migration towards the suburbs.

In the northern and southern regions, the student population attending class in English fell two to three times more rapidly than the population receiving its education in the French Language. This decline, however, is concentrated between the years 1976-1977 to 1979-1980. From 1973-1974 to 1976-1977, the enrolment in English classes remained relatively stable in the northern sub-region, and increased in the southern sub-region. Meanwhile, the enrolment of students attending French schools dropped in both instances. After 1976-1977, the rate of decline lessened for those studying in French.

Table 3.1: Evolution of the student population within school boards belonging to the Montreal sub-regions, according to language of instruction. Years 1973-1974 to 1979-1980 (population and percentage).

Montreal northern sub-region

Years	Language of instruction		
	French	English	Total
1973-1974	154 906	21 815	176 721
1976-1977	143 638	21 369	165 007
1979-1980	137 777	17 090	154 867
Periods			
1973-74 to 1976-77	- 7.3	- 2.0	- 6.6
1976-77 to 1979-80	- 4.1	- 20.0	- 6.1
1973-74 to 1979-80	- 11.1	- 21.7	- 12.4

Montreal southern sub-region

Years	Language of instruction		
	French	English	Total
1973-1974	186 280	35 694	221 974
1976-1977	176 402	37 063	213 465
1979-1980	171 442	27 643	199 085
Periods			
1973-74 to 1976-77	- 5.3	- 3.8	- 3.8
1976-77 to 1979-80	- 2.8	- 25.4	- 6.7
1973-74 to 1979-80	- 8.0	- 22.6	- 10.3

Montreal Island sub-region

Years	Language of instruction		
	French	English	Total
1973-1974	222 210	140 064	362 274
1976-1977	184 354	127 984	312 338
1979-1980	156 985	99 535	256 520
Periods			
1973-74 to 1976-77	- 17.0	- 8.6	- 13.8
1976-77 to 1979-80	- 14.8	- 22.2	- 17.9
1973-74 to 1979-80	- 29.4	- 28.9	- 29.2

On the Island itself, the decline in student population is the same throughout this period (-29%). Between 1973-1974 and 1976-1977, it was the population attending class in French which decreased more rapidly (-17.0%) as opposed to -8.6%). Once Bill 101 had come into force, the rate of decline showed signs of abating. The decrease in the student population receiving its schooling in English became far more pronounced to the point where it outstripped that of the French student population (-22.2% on the English side, as opposed to -14.8% on the French one). The percentage decrease in the number of students attending class in French has, however, remained far higher on the Island than it has in the northern and southern sub-regions. This is not the case in English classes where the rate of decline over the period 1976-1977 to 1979-1980 approximates that experienced in the northern and southern sub-regions.

However, care should be taken not to conclude that the migration towards the suburbs and the ageing of the population in central Montreal no longer have an effect on the student population receiving its schooling in English. The evolution of the student population attending class in English for the two school boards of central Montreal, i.e. the CECM and the PSBGM, has been compared to the evolution of the student population forming the West Island as well as the suburban school boards of the North and South Shores (Table 3.2). On the Protestant side, one notes that the drop in enrolment experienced by the PSBGM exceeds that experienced in the western area of the Island (largest area of Lakeshore) and in the north (Laurenval). The sharpest decline was recorded in the southern region (South Shore).

Table 3.2: Evolution of the student population attending school in English in Montreal and suburbs. Years 1973-1974 to 1979-1980 (population and percentage changes).

Areas	Years			Periods	
	1973-74	1976-77	1979-80	1973-74 to 1976-77	1976-77 to 1979-80
Cath. S.B.					
Center	43 784	37 021	28 067	- 15.4	- 24.2
West Island	9 725	9 455	7 662	- 2.8	- 19.0
North Shore	7 116	6 745	5 339	- 5.2	- 20.8
South Shore	9 071	8 955	6 853	- 1.3	- 23.5
Protestant					
Center	52 321	48 481	36 420	- 7.3	- 24.9
West Island	16 476	16 630	13 520	+ 0.9	- 18.7
North Shore	11 425	11 623	9 388	+ 1.7	- 19.2
South Shore	10 485	12 887	8 896	+ 22.9	- 31.0

Note: Catholic school boards: center (CECM); West Island (Baldwin-Cartier); North Shore (Blainville-Deux-Montagnes, Des Mille-Isles, Chomedey de Laval, Les Ecoles, Des Manoirs); South Shore (Yamaska, Honoré-Mercier, Lignery, Chambly).

Protestant school boards: center (PSBGM); West Island (Lakeshore); North Shore (Laurenval); South Shore (South Shore Territory).

The decline can, however, be largely explained by the fact that numerous French immersion classes ⁽¹⁾ were changed into standard French classes by the South Shore Board from 1978-1979 ⁽²⁾ onwards. In the Catholic sector the decline in school enrolment of students attending class in English within the CECM has been higher than that experienced by suburban Catholic school boards, especially those situated in the western part of the Island (Baldwin-Cartier) and on the North-Shore (particularly those of the Milles-Iles and Chomedey-de-Laval).

Lastly, table 3.3 shows the distribution of the student population attending class in English according to mother tongue for each sub-region. It should be kept in mind that for Québec as a whole, a third of the students receiving their schooling in English cannot claim that language as their mother tongue. Data featured in Table 3.3 shows that the southern sub-region has a somewhat inferior proportion to this (22%), while the proportion quoted for the northern sub-region is identical to the general figure for the whole of Québec. On the Island of Montreal itself, more than 40% of pupils attending English classes do not claim English as a mother tongue: 6% of these are Francophones, and more than a third are Allophones. Indeed, it is on the Island of Montreal that the discrepancy between the percentage of children claiming English as a mother tongue and the proportion of children studying in English is at its widest. In 1979-1980, 25.2% of the children belonging to school boards on the Island claim English as a mother tongue, while 38.8% of the Island's student population is attending class in English.

- (1) French immersion is a technique for the learning of French as a second language.
- (2) This change affected some 1 400 students in 1979-1980. If the students had been considered as studying in English as they were in 1976-1977, the drop in the population numbers would stand at -20.1%. It would therefore be inferior to that experienced by the PSBGM, as are the reductions affecting the western and northern sectors.

Table 3.3: Evolution of the student population attending class in English within Montreal sub-region school boards, according to mother tongue.

Sub-region	Years	Monther tongue			
		French	English	Other	Total
North	1973-74	23.5	65.2	11.3	100.0
	1976-77	19.6	67.3	13.3	100.0
	1979-80	15.3	66.2	18.5	100.0
South	1973-74	15.0	78.8	6.2	100.0
	1976-77	14.1	78.7	7.2	100.0
	1979-80	13.6	78.4	8.0	100.0
Island	1973-74	7.8	59.1	33.1	100.0
	1976-77	6.6	60.1	33.4	100.0
	1979-80	5.8	58.0	36.3	100.0

2- The Island of Montreal

Taken as a whole, the student population enrolled with the Montreal Island Catholic school boards decreased by 30.3% between 1973-1974 and 1979-1980 (Table 3.4), while the student enrolment of Protestant school boards dropped by 24.5% (Table 3.5). For the Catholic sector, the number of students attending class in French has decreased at the same rate (-30.4%) as the number of students receiving their schooling in English (-29.8%).

Table 3.4: Evolution of the student population enrolled in Catholic school boards on the Island of Montreal according to language of instruction. Years 1973-1974 to 1979-1980 (population and percentage changes).

Years	Language of instruction		
	French	English	Total
1973-74	220 984	72 839	293 823
1976-77	182 715	64 641	247 356
1979-80	153 737	51 105	204 842
Periods			
1973-74 to 1976-77	- 17.3	- 11.3	- 15.8
1976-77 to 1979-80	- 15.9	- 20.9	- 17.2
1973-74 to 1979-80	- 30.4	- 29.8	- 30.3

Table 3.5: Evolution of the student population enrolled in Protestant school boards on the Island of Montreal, according to language of instruction. Years 1973-1974 to 1979-1980 (population and percentage changes).

Years	Language of instruction		
	French	English	Total
1973-74	1 226	67 225	68 451
1976-77	1 639	63 343	64 982
1979-80	3 248	48 430	51 678
Periods			
1973-74 to 1976-77	+ 33.7	- 5.8	- 5.1
1976-77 to 1979-80	+ 98.2	- 23.5	- 20.5
1973-74 to 1979-80	+164.9	- 28.0	- 24.5

However, the rate of decline affecting the number of children studying in English has nearly doubled since Bill 101 came into force (-11.3% between 1973-1974 and 1976-1977, as against -20.9% between 1976-1977 and 1979-1980). As far as the Protestant sector is concerned, the student population receiving its schooling in English had only recorded a 5.8% drop between 1973-1974 and 1976-1977. During the three years of application of Bill 101, the decline has reached 23.5%. Although the enrolment for French Protestant classes has nearly tripled, the numbers remain low. In Protestant welcoming classes, the student population rose from 30 in 1976-1977 to 1 105 in 1979-1980. In Catholic school boards the enrolment went from 2 713 to 4 132 during the same period.

If we turn to the distribution according to mother tongue of students attending class in English the data found in Table 3.6 shows that this distribution varies widely between Protestant school boards and those for Catholics. In the latter instance, more than 55% of students do not claim English as their mother tongue, while in the former the proportion stands at about 25%. The situation has shown little modification since the French Language Charter came into force.

On the other hand, there has been a significant evolution in the distribution of students belonging to various linguistic groups with respect to language of instruction. Before 1977, more than 85% of Allophones enrolling with school boards opted for instruction in the English language. In 1979-1980, the proportion fell to 65.8% (Table 3.7).

Table 3.6: Distribution of the student population attending class in English within Montreal Island school boards, according to mother tongue and religious affiliation of the school board.

Years	Mother tongue			
	French	English	Other	Total
<u>Cath. S.B.</u>				
1973-74	11.8	42.4	45.8	100.0
1976-77	10.5	45.0	44.4	100.0
1979-80	8.9	42.9	48.2	100.0
<u>Prot. S.B.</u>				
1973-74	3.7	76.2	20.1	100.0
1976-77	2.8	74.5	22.8	100.0
1979-80	2.5	73.9	23.6	100.0

In 1979-80, 71.3% of 4 and 5 year-old Allophones were enrolled in French classes, as compared to only 26.7% in 1973-1974. The proportion of English speaking students attending class in French rose from 11.0% to 20.0% between 1973-1974 and 1979-1980. In kindergarten, it rose from 24.4% to 51.1%. Within Protestant school boards the proportion of students claiming English as a mother tongue yet attending French kindergarten, rose from 1.9% in 1973-1974 to 25.3% in 1979-1980 (Table 3.8). The proportion of Allophones enrolled in French kindergartens for its part, has gone from 0.4% to 39.8%.

Table 3.7: Distribution of the student population within Montreal Island Catholic school boards, by language of instruction and according to mother tongue 1973-1974, 1976-1977 and 1979-1980.

Year	Mother tongue	Language of instruction					
		Kindergarten level			All levels		
		French	English	Total	French	English	Total
1973-74	French	96.0	4.0	100.0	96.1	3.9	100.0
	English	24.4	75.6	100.0	11.0	89.0	100.0
	Other	26.7	73.3	100.0	15.0	85.0	100.0
	Total	77.5	22.5	100.0	75.2	24.8	100.0
1976-77	French	99.2	0.8	100.0	96.2	3.8	100.0
	English	37.0	63.0	100.0	14.2	85.8	100.0
	Other	52.3	47.7	100.0	14.4	85.6	100.0
	Total	84.8	15.2	100.0	73.9	26.1	100.0
1979-80	French	98.9	1.1	100.0	96.8	3.2	100.0
	English	51.1	48.9	100.0	20.0	80.0	100.0
	Other	71.3	28.7	100.0	34.2	65.8	100.0
	Total	84.9	15.1	100.0	75.7	24.9	100.0

Note: Figures quoted for the kindergarten level include kindergartens for both 4 and 5 year-old children.

Table 3.8: Distribution of the student population within Montreal Island Protestant school boards by language of instruction and according to mother tongue 1973-1974, 1976-1977 and 1979-1980.

Year	Mother tongue	Language of instruction					
		kindergarten level			All levels		
		French	English	Total	French	English	Total
1973-74	French	23.2	76.8	100.0	26.9	73.1	100.0
	English	1.9	98.1	100.0	0.5	99.5	100.0
	Other	0.4	99.6	100.0	0.4	99.6	100.0
	Total	2.2	97.8	100.0	1.8	98.2	100.0
1976-77	French	67.4	32.6	100.0	40.6	59.4	100.0
	English	1.3	98.7	100.0	0.6	99.4	100.0
	Other	1.5	98.5	100.0	1.1	98.9	100.0
	Total	3.5	96.5	100.0	2.5	97.5	100.0
1979-80	French	80.0	20.0	100.0	47.2	52.8	100.0
	English	25.3	74.7	100.0	2.8	97.2	100.0
	Other	39.8	60.2	100.0	9.0	91.0	100.0
	Total	31.8	68.2	100.0	6.3	93.7	100.0

Note: Figures quoted for the kindergarten level include kindergartens for both 4 and 5 year-old children.

3- The CECM and the PSBGM

The two school boards with the highest student enrolment for English classes are the Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal (CECM) and the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal (PSBGM). Tables 3.9 and 3.10 describe the evolution of their student population according to the language of instruction. Tables 3.11 and 3.12 indicate the evolution of the student population receiving its schooling in English and according to academic level.

The student population of the CECM has fallen by 35% between 1973-1974 and 1979-1980, whether the language of instruction be French or English. Before 1976-1977, the numbers attending class in French were declining a little more rapidly than the numbers studying in English. The trend was reversed after 1976-1977, and the student population attending class in English within the CECM dwindled more rapidly than that of the sum total of Québec Catholic school boards or the Island of Montreal school boards:

CECM	-35.9%
Island of Montreal - Cath.	-29.8%
Québec as a whole - Cath.	-30.7%

This comment applies equally to the period following the proclamation of Bill 101 and the period preceding it. The evolution, according to the academic level (Table 3.11), indicates that over the whole period, the most important drop was experienced by the kindergartens, where the student population fell by 53.9%. Nearly all of this decline in numbers took place between the years 1973-1974 to 1976-1977, under the aegis of Bill 22.

Table 3.9: Evolution of the student population within the Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal, according to language of instruction. Years 1973-1974 to 1979-1980 (population and percentage changes).

Years	Language of instruction		
	French	English	Total
1973-1974	152 441	43 784	196 225
1976-1977	123 560	37 021	160 581
1979-1980	100 345	28 067	128 412
Periods			
1973-74 to 1976-77	- 18.9	- 15.4	- 18.2
1976-77 to 1979-80	- 18.8	- 24.2	- 20.0
1973-74 to 1979-80	- 34.2	- 35.9	- 34.6

Table 3.10: Evolution of the student population within the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, according to language of instruction. Years 1973-1974 to 1979-1980 (population and percentage changes).

Years	Language of instruction		
	French	English	Total
1973-1974	1 194	52 321	53 515
1976-1977	1 608	48 481	50 089
1979-1980	2 721	36 420	39 141
Periods			
1973-74 to 1976-77	+ 34.7	- 7.3	- 6.4
1976-77 to 1979-80	+ 69.2	- 24.9	- 21.9
1973-74 to 1979-80	+127.9	- 30.4	- 26.9

Table 3.11: Evolution of the student population attending class in the English language within the Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal, according to academic level. Years 1973-1974 to 1979-1980 (population and percentage changes).

Years	Academic level			
	Kindergarten	Elementary	High School	Total
1973-1974	2 673	21 540	19 571	43 784
1976-1977	1 316	17 662	18 043	37 021
1979-1980	1 233	12 293	14 541	28 067
Periods				
1973-74 to 1976-77	- 50.8	- 18.0	- 7.8	- 15.4
1976-77 to 1979-80	- 6.3	- 30.4	- 19.4	- 24.2
1973-74 to 1979-80	- 53.9	- 42.9	- 25.7	- 35.9

Table 3.12: Evolution of the student population attending class in English within the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, according to academic level. Years 1973-1974 to 1979-1980 (population and percentage changes).

Years	Academic level			
	Kindergarten	Elementary	High School	Total
1973-1974	3 296	26 027	22 998	52 321
1976-1977	3 302	22 893	22 286	48 481
1979-1980	1 765	16 563	18 092	36 420
Periods				
1973-74 to 1976-77	+ 0.2	- 12.0	- 3.1	- 7.3
1976-77 to 1979-80	- 46.5	- 27.7	- 18.8	- 24.9
1973-74 to 1979-80	- 46.5	- 36.4	- 21.3	- 30.4

The student population of the PSBGM, on the other hand, has dropped by 26.9%, a rate less rapid than that affecting the CECM (Table 3.10). The population studying in English has declined by 30.4%, and the population attending class in French, while its numbers remain low, has more than doubled; students enrolled in classes d'accueil make up part of the numbers (659 pupils in 1979-1980). The decrease in the number of enrolments for English schooling within the PSBGM has been more rapid than for the total number of Protestant school boards within Québec and the Island of Montreal:

PSBGM	- 30.4%
Island of Montreal - Prot.	- 28.0%
Whole of Québec - Prot	- 24.2%

The greatest part of the decline took place after 1976-1977, a comment which applies to all academic levels alike (Table 3.12). Contrary to what happened within the CECM, the PSBGM student population attending kindergarten remained stable between 1973-1974 and 1976-1977 and 1979-1980, at a rate of 46.5%.

The linguistic make-up of both the CECM and PSBGM student population attending class in English explains largely the marked reductions in these numbers: more than 70% of CECM students receiving their schooling in English do not claim that language as their mother tongue, and more than 60% of them are Allophones. Within the PSBGM, more than 30% of students attending class in English are either Francophones or Allophones.

Table 3.13: Distribution of the student population attending class in English within both the CECM and the PSBGM according to mother tongue.

Years	Mother tongue			
	French	English	Other	Total
CECM				
1973-1974	12.3	26.3	61.5	100.0
1976-1977	11.1	29.9	59.1	100.0
1979-1980	9.6	28.8	61.6	100.0
PSBGM				
1973-1974	4.3	71.1	24.6	100.0
1976-1977	3.2	68.4	28.4	100.0
1979-1980	2.8	68.0	29.2	100.0

(Table 3.13). Since 1973-1974, there has been a significant increase in the number of Allophones enrolling in French classes. Within the CECM, the proportion has gone from 15.2% to 35.7% (Table 3.14). In kindergarten, it rose from 23.9% to reach 72.1%. Within the PSBGM, enrolment of Allophones in French kindergartens went from 0.3% to 40.8% (Table 3.15). Again, within the PSBGM, another significant change is to be noted: the proportion of English students enrolled in French classes has gone from 0.4% to 2.3% for the whole of the academic levels, and from 1.7% to 12.7% in kindergarten alone.

4- The private school system

Another factor which may yet account partly for declining enrolments within school boards is the competition offered by institutions which are part of the private school system. Data available indicate that, on the Island of Montreal, there has been an increase in enrolments between 1976-1977 and 1979-1980 in subsidized private schools providing instruction in the English language. The figures quoted bear witness to the increased enrolment recorded in regular schools as much as in so-called "ethnic" establishments, whether these have English or French as the teaching language. The sharpest increase has taken place in the ethnic schools providing education in the English language.

If the data featured in Table 3.16 (concerning the private system) were added to the information making up Table 3.1 (concerning school board populations), it would be noted within this consolidated whole (public plus subsidized private) that the drop in the student population attending class in English would have been 21.2% between the years 1976-1977 and 1979-1980, rather than the 22.2% noted for Montreal Island school boards. It could therefore be said that the competition offered by the private system has contributed marginally to the decline of English classes within the public system.

Table 3.14: Distribution of the CECM student population by language of instruction according to mother tongue. Years 1973-1974, 1976-1977 and 1979-1980.

Year	Mother tongue	Language of instruction					
		Kindergarten level			All levels		
		French	English	Total	French	English	Total
1973-74	French	96.3	3.7	100.0	96.5	3.5	100.0
	English	1.3	98.7	100.0	4.4	95.6	100.0
	Other	23.9	76.1	100.0	15.2	84.8	100.0
	Total	77.9	22.1	100.0	77.7	22.3	100.0
1976-77	French	99.6	0.4	100.0	96.7	3.3	100.0
	English	34.0	66.0	100.0	13.5	86.5	100.0
	Other	44.4	55.6	100.0	13.5	86.5	100.0
	Total	87.8	12.2	100.0	76.9	23.1	100.0
1979-80	French	99.3	0.7	100.0	97.0	3.0	100.0
	English	46.0	54.0	100.0	19.9	80.1	100.0
	Other	72.1	27.9	100.0	35.7	64.3	100.0
	Total	87.1	12.9	100.0	78.1	21.9	100.0

Table 3.15: Distribution of the PSBGM student population by language of instruction according to mother tongue. Years 1973-1974, 1976-1977 and 1979-1980.

Year	Mother tongue	Language of instruction					
		Kindergarten level			All levels		
		French	English	Total	French	English	Total
1973-74	French	23.1	76.9	100.0	28.9	71.1	100.0
	English	1.7	98.3	100.0	0.6	99.4	100.0
	Other	0.3	99.7	100.0	0.4	99.6	100.0
	Total	1.9	98.1	100.0	2.2	97.8	100.0
1976-77	French	73.1	26.9	100.0	42.8	57.2	100.0
	English	1.9	98.1	100.0	0.8	99.2	100.0
	Other	1.7	98.3	100.0	1.2	98.8	100.0
	Total	4.5	95.5	100.0	3.2	96.8	100.0
1979-80	French	82.7	17.3	100.0	50.7	49.3	100.0
	English	12.7	87.3	100.0	4.3	97.7	100.0
	Other	40.8	59.2	100.0	9.3	90.7	100.0
	Total	27.0	73.0	100.0	7.0	93.0	100.0

Table 3.16: Evolution of the student population in subsidized private schools on the Island of Montreal where English was the language of instruction in relation to the language of instruction and to the type of school. Years 1976-1977, 1979-1980.

Type of school	Number of schools	Language of instruction			
		French		English	
		1976-77	1979-80	1976-77	1979-80
Regular schools	16	1 005	1 115	4 064	4 327
Jewish Greek and Armenian schools	23	1 399	2 016	2 604	3 879

Source: Service général de l'enseignement privé (MEQ).

CHAPTER IV

Children Eligible for Instruction in the English Language

The French Language Charter has defined the eligibility criteria for children wishing to receive an English education. Students legally attending English classes in 1976-1977 had their eligibility immediately confirmed. For other children wishing to attend English school, a formal application had to be made. In the remainder of this chapter, the term "eligible child" is understood to be a student whose eligibility has been confirmed; but there are also children who could be declared eligible in accordance with one of the Bill's criteria, but who have never applied.

A child eligible to attend an English class may nevertheless study in French if he or his parents so wish. As the figures quoted in Table 4.1 indicate, this is an option exercised with increasing frequency. From the first year of the Bill's application, there were more than 4 000 eligible children attending class in French. In 1979-1980, the third year since the Bill had been in effect, they numbered more than 11 000. While this phenomenon was not very noticeable at the high school level, it had taken on some importance at the elementary one. At that level, the attraction to French is probably more dominant in the early years than in the later ones. As far as kindergartens are concerned, the number of eligible children studying in French increased more than four times since 1977-1978.

It was previously noted that the decline of the English student population had been most significant first at the kindergarten level, then at the elementary one. The fact that a number of students eligible for English education opt instead for French education explains a good many of these findings.

Table 4.1: Children eligible for English education who study in French and total student population attending class in English, according to academic year and level. Public and private systems for the whole of Québec. Years 1977-1978 to 1979-1980.

Academic Year	Level	Eligible children attending French school	Children attending English school	Percentage Ratio (3)=(1)÷(2)
1977-78	Kindergarten	457	13 147	3.5
	Elementary	2 505	107 857	2.3
	High School	1 201	97 056	1.2
	Sub-Total*	4 164	218 084	1.9
1978-79	Kindergarten	1 693	10 048	16.8
	Elementary	6 441	87 804	7.3
	High School	2 141	98 074	2.2
	Sub-Total*	10 289	196 860	5.2
1979-80	Kindergarten	2 148	8 881	24.2
	Elementary	6 769	77 952	8.7
	High School	2 700	92 137	2.9
	Sub-Total*	11 622	179 091	6.5

* Includes children whose level is undetermined.

Source: SIMEQ, as compiled on September 11th, 1980, from the file Registre-individu and Elèves-standard. Are excluded from this table all students who left school during the academic year or whose application for enrolment was not forwarded to the Ministère.

Table 5.1: Estimate of the number of 5 to 16 year-old children who have left Québec, according to language (1). Years 1974-1979.

Calendar Year	Language (1)	Departures from Québec	
		Number	%
1974	French	3 820	36.7
	English	6 576	63.3
	Total	10 396	100.0
1975	French	3 375	35.4
	English	6 170	64.6
	Total	9 545	100.0
1976	French	3 405	31.7
	English	7 337	68.3
	Total	10 742	100.0
1977	French	4 342	28.1
	English	11 137	71.9
	Total	15 479	100.0
1978	French	3 790	30.3
	English	8 720	69.7
	Total	12 510	100.0
1979	French	3 546	32.2
	English	7 457	67.8
	Total	11 003	100.0

Source: Information gathered by the Service de la démographie scolaire from the family allowance file of the Régie des rentes du Québec. Given the unavailability of January departures for each year, the number of departures recorded for February has been doubled.

(1) The language indicated is the language chosen when corresponding with the Régie des rentes du Québec. This should give some indication of the language most often spoken at home, aside from the fact that parents can only choose from two of these, French or English.

CHAPTER V

Migration, Birth-Rate and Other Factors

Most observers are agreed that the French Language Charter was not the only factor responsible for the decline in the number of students attending English class in Québec. To our knowledge however, no one has yet been able to assess the importance of the various factors involved. Some talk of a falling birth-rate, while others speak of an "exodus" of English persons: the attraction French has exerted on children eligible to attend English schools has also been mentioned.

In this chapter, an attempt is made to gauge, at least approximately, the role played by each factor as well as the specific impact of the French Language Charter itself.

1- The exodus in question

The following table provides information concerning children of school age (5 to 16 years) in relation to their language who have left Québec. The data was compiled from the Québec family allowance file. It was possible to compile the number of departures for each year from 1974 to 1979. The Régie des rentes du Québec did not preserve family allowance files prior to 1974.

When one speaks of an "exodus", one is referring to a sudden and massive emigration attributable to some calamity or other, without any intervention on the part of the powers that be ⁽¹⁾. There has always been an emigration of English-speaking as well as French-speaking persons from Québec. But there seems to have been a somewhat higher number of departures in 1977 and 1978 as compared to preceding years and this number was more evident among English speakers than French speakers. It is therefore possible that these departures in excess of normal numbers from the ranks of the English community could have had something to do with the French Language Charter, which was discussed and adopted in 1977. It must be mentioned, however, that the emigrants' motives were doubtlessly more varied and more complex than this.

In the context of the present discussion, it has been supposed that all excess departures are indeed attributable to the Charter. This will permit an evaluation of the maximum number of departures Bill 101 could have influenced.

One must first differentiate between the number of normal and the number of excess departures. During the seventies, departures were high in both 1970 and 1971, before decreasing to a minimum in 1975. Another high point was reached in 1977, followed by yet another drop, lasting until 1979 ⁽²⁾.

(1) Nations-Unies, Dictionnaire démographique multilingue, New-York 1958, page 64.

(2) Statistics Canada, International and interprovincial migrations in Canada, Cat. 91-208.

Because the lowest number of departures occurred in the years 1974 and 1975, these years cannot be used as norms. The year 1976 is therefore used as a basis for comparison, for the three following reasons:

- even though departures in 1976 were below average in number, they were still close enough to the said average;
- 1976 is the year immediately preceding the one during which the Charter was debated and adopted;
- it is one of the years for which it is possible to compile departures according to language for children of school age.

Excessive departures from the English community, when compared with 1976, would therefore rate as follows:

- 3 800 in 1977
- 1 383 in 1978
- 120 in 1979
- 5 303 in three years (total) (1).

Quite a strong reaction seems to have occurred in 1977, yet two years later, in 1979, it would appear to have come to an end. Excessive departures cumulated over the three-year period represent 60% of the 7 337 departures recorded for 1976. When compared to the Québec school population studying in English during 1976-1977, these departures would amount to only 2.2% over a three-year period.

(1) Source: Table 5.1

It is therefore possible to conclude that this "English-speaking exodus" could have exerted but a marginal influence on the student population attending English schools in Québec.

2- The decline in the birth-rate

The statement that "it is the declining birth-rate which explains the drop in elementary and high-school student numbers in Québec" has been heard a thousand times over. Yet, does it equally apply to the school population studying in English? This is the question to be dealt with.

Statistics for the birth-rate in Québec according to language are as rare as they are fragmentary ⁽¹⁾. The most recent data on this particular issue has been furnished (see table 5.2). English-speaking persons have long had a lower birth-rate than other Quebecers have had. Even though it started at a fairly low level, the birth-rate of the English population had further fallen by 21% between 1966-1971 and between 1971-1976. During those years, the birth-rate of the French population was dropping by 20%. It can therefore be stated that the decline in the birth-rate was comparable for both English and French speakers.

(1) This gap will be filled when the Ministère des Affaires sociales publishes its statistics on birth according to language, gathered through the new SP-1 form.

An attempt will be made to evaluate the impact of the falling birth-rate on the school population between the years 1976-1977. Due to a declining birth-rate ⁽¹⁾ less numerous generations of school-age children follow on the heels of more numerous ones.

Table 5.2: Estimate of the total fertility rate according to mother tongue, Québec - Years 1966-1971 and 1971-1976.

Mother tongue	1966-1971	1971-1979	Rate of decrease
French	2,25	1,80	20%
English	2,08	1,64	21%
Other	2,56	2,20	14%
All languages	2,25	1,80	20%

Source: Réjean Lachapelle and Jacques Henripin, La situation démographique au Canada, Institut de recherches politiques, Montréal 1980, page 117.

If the number of children from 2 to 13 years of age is compared to the number of children 5 to 16 years of age at the 1976 Census ⁽²⁾ - the figures are 1 238 140 and 1 378 215 respectively - one notes that the renewal of school age generations could have led, over three years, to a 10.2% drop in student population. This type of calculation is justified by the fact that the generations from 2 to 13 years of age in 1976 were 5 to 16 years of age in 1979.

(1) Juvenile and infantile mortality as well as migratory balances do not play an important role here.

(2) Statistics Canada, 1976 Census, Age Years, bulletin 8SD1.

Proceeding in an identical manner, the impact of the declining birth-rate was calculated according to the number of children registered for family allowance and distributed according to language; thus a figure of 10.2% for French speakers and 7.8% for English speakers was obtained. If the impact appears lower among the English community, it would probably be because this community has the advantage of linguistic transfers which reduced the effect of the declining birth-rate, and because Allophones, whose birth-rate has not fallen as significantly, probably opted for the English language when corresponding with the Régie des rentes du Québec.

The conclusion is, therefore, that the fall in birth-rate most probably caused, between 1976-1977 and 1979-1980, a decline of 7.8% in the number of students receiving English education, (i.e. 18 500 students out of the 236 000 studying in English within the private and public school systems in 1976-1977).

3- Net migratory displacements

There were not only departures from Québec, but also arrivals into the Province, the number of which have not yet been assessed. Work is underway in that direction. Without being able to furnish precise information, it should be stressed that arrivals of English-speaking persons were probably fewer after the Charter had come into force than before that event. Using indirect methods, it is nevertheless possible to evaluate the net migratory movements, i.e. the difference between the number of arrivals and departures.

One approximate means of evaluating net migratory movements is to compare the number of English children from 2 to 13 years of age registered in the family allowance file of 1976 to the same children, now 5 to 16 years of age listed in the 1979 file. There is a negative net migratory figure of 14 800 ⁽¹⁾ children.

There exists yet another way around the difficulty. In 1976-1977, public and private English education accounted for ⁽²⁾:

- 2.2% of the students claiming French as their mother tongue;
- 91.9% of the students claiming English as their mother tongue;
- 78.9% of the students claiming another language as their mother tongue.

The population studying in English within the private and public school systems numbered 236 000. But in 1979-1980, the number of French, English and Allophone students dropped. By applying to these students the same rate of attraction which had been recorded for 1976-1977, the student population attending class in English numbers 209 600, (i.e. 27 000 students less). These children represent the potential student population for English schools in 1979-1980, had the market share of that school system remained stable since 1976-1977.

- (1) It is supposed here that late registrations, eligibility cancellations, changes in the language used for correspondence and mortality all have a net negligible influence. It also must be noted that the net migration is calculated over a period of 38 months, from April 1976 to June 1979.
- (2) According to the data provided by the file "Elèves Standard", and leaving aside those whose mother is undetermined.

The fact that there is a record in the 1976-1977 file of some 12 000 students whose language is undetermined - 4 000 of whom attend class in English does create a margin of error. What is ultimately being sought is an explanation of a decline in student population amounting to 31 000 children ⁽¹⁾.

Assuming a constant share of the market, the decrease recorded in the number of students attending class in English can be explained by two factors: the declining birth-rate and the net migratory movements. Since the decline in birth-rate of the English school population totalled 18 500 students we can now calculate negative migratory movements of 12 500 ⁽²⁾ children. Because of previous considerations, one must view this figure as an approximation and allow for a potential margin of error of 4 000.

4- Other factors and overview

In the previous chapter, we have already noted that 11 600 children eligible to attend English schools are studying in French. This is a voluntary choice. Even though the French language has gained much appeal over the last few years, it must be pointed out that the phenomenon existed - albeit to a lesser degree - before the adoption of the French Language Charter. It is presumed that the increase recorded since 1977-1978 mirrors this new aspect of a voluntary choice of French. Thus one arrives at an estimation of some 7 500 students ⁽³⁾, a number representing the drop in enrolments experienced by the English educational system within the framework of the new voluntary choice of French as a language of education.

(1) $27\ 000 + 4\ 000 = 31\ 000$

(2) $31\ 000 - 18\ 500 = 12\ 500$

(3) $11\ 622 - 4\ 164 = 7\ 458$

The direct effect of the criteria established under Bill 101 for admission to schools remains the final factor which explains the decline of the English school population. If the percentage of Francophone, Allophone and English students studying in the English language is lower in 1979-1980 than in 1976-1977, it is due not only to individual free choice but also to the intended purpose of the French Language Charter.

The student population studying in English in the public and private school system of Québec diminished by 51 700 students between 1976-1977 and 1979-1980. The decline in birth-rate is responsible for a loss of 18 500 students; a rough estimate of the effect of the net migratory movements was set at 12 500 students while the free choice for French schooling accounted for 13 200 students. The criteria for admission to English schooling accounts for the remaining loss of 13 200 students.

According to the data found in Table 5.3, the factors responsible for the decline of the Québec English school population are here listed in diminishing order of importance: the decline in birth-rate; the criteria for admission to English schooling; the net negative migration and the voluntary choice of French schooling by the students eligible to attend English schools. It might be possible that some of these factors are interrelated. For example, it may be that there is a connection between some of the departures from Québec and the criteria established for admission to English schools.

Table 5.3: Estimate of the various factors which influenced the student population attending class in English within the public and the private schools of Québec between 1976-1977 and 1979-1980.

- STUDENT POPULATION 1976-1977	236 000
- STUDENT POPULATION 1979-1980	184 900
A DROP OF 21.9%	51 700

Factors explaining the decline in numbers

	Total number	Percent
- Declining birth-rate	18 500	7.8
- Bill 101 eligibility criteria	13 200	5.6
- Net negative migration	12 500	5.3
- Voluntary choice of French by students otherwise eligible to instruction in English	7 500	3.2
	51 700	21.9%

Whatever the case, it has been established that four factors have helped to reduce the student enrolment in English classes, the most important of which would be the declining birth-rate. Fragmentary explanations attributing the fall to a single cause should, therefore, be avoided.

CONCLUSION

This monograph has studied the evolution of the elementary and high school student population according to language of instruction, religion, mother tongue and region. It has examined the changes which have emerged during the three years preceding the adoption of the French Language Charter, and the three years following it. But for a few exceptions, it has measured a phenomenon of decline, whether it be for Catholic or Protestant school boards, French or English-speaking education, before or after the adoption of the Charter.

A declining birth-rate is essentially to blame for the decrease in number among children attending Québec schools. This decline has touched all groups, whatever the language spoken, be it French, English or other. It should, therefore, come as no surprise that the decline is general.

Yet there are other factors which have had a particular influence on the population attending class in English. The role played by criteria governing a child's eligibility to go to an English-speaking school has already been underlined, as well as internal or external migratory movements, and the voluntary choice of a French-speaking education by children otherwise eligible to attend class in English. It was possible to demonstrate that, what to some was an "exodus" of English-speaking persons, was a phenomenon undeserving of the name and now apparently at an end.

Doubtless the evaluation made can only be an approximation, inasmuch as it deals with the importance of the various causes for the decline of the student population attending English schools. While fully aware of this, it is nevertheless believed that this monograph, through the facts gathered and the conclusion drawn, does indeed demonstrate that a host of factors come into play and that one should be wary of explanations apportioning the blame for this decrease to a single cause.